

**ON OVERCOMING
the
PERSONALITY CULT
and
ITS CONSEQUENCES**

*Decision
of the Central Committee,
C.P.S.U.*

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I

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. records with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have met with the full approval and warm support of the whole of our Party, the entire Soviet people, the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, the working people of the great commonwealth of socialist countries, and millions of men and women in the capitalist and colonial countries. This is understandable, for the Twentieth Party Congress, which marked a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, gave a profound analysis of the present international and internal situation, armed the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people with a majestic plan of work for the building of communism, and opened up new prospects for united action by all the parties of the working class in removing the danger of another war and championing the interests of the working people.

Carrying out the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, are achieving new and outstanding successes in every field of political, economic and cultural endeavour. They have rallied still more closely around the Communist Party and are displaying a high degree of creative vigour in fulfilling the tasks set by the Twentieth Congress.

The period since the Congress has also demonstrated the great and vital significance of its decisions for the international Communist and labour movement and the

struggle of all progressive forces to consolidate world peace. The major theoretical principles advanced by the Congress on peaceful co-existence between countries with differing social systems, on the possibility of averting war under present conditions, and on different forms of transition to socialism are favourably influencing the international situation, and facilitating the relaxation of tension, the strengthening of the unity in action of all the forces fighting for peace and democracy, and the further consolidation of the world socialist system.

While the historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress have inspired the Soviet people and the working people of the People's Democracies and the entire world with great enthusiasm, creative initiative and revolutionary energy, they have evoked alarm and malice among the enemies of the working class. The great programme of struggle for durable peace, outlined by the Twentieth Congress has given rise to obvious concern among reactionaries in the U.S.A. and several other capitalist countries. And that concern grows as this programme is vigorously and consistently translated into practice.

Why are the enemies of communism and socialism concentrating their fire on the shortcomings disclosed by the Central Committee of our Party at the Twentieth Congress? Their object is to distract the attention of the working class and its parties from the *chief* propositions advanced by the Twentieth Congress, propositions that open the way to new successes for peace, socialism and working-class unity.

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress and the home and foreign policies of the Soviet Government have caused dismay among the imperialist forces in the U.S.A. and other countries.

The Soviet Union's bold and consistent foreign policy of ensuring peace and co-operation among countries regardless of their social systems enjoys the support of

the broad mass of the people in every country. It broadens the front of peace-loving states, and is giving rise to a serious crisis of the "cold war" policy, the policy of building military blocs and continuing the arms drive. It is no accident that it is the imperialist forces of the U.S.A. who have raised the loudest clamour about the struggle against the personality cult in the U.S.S.R. The existence of negative features arising from the personality cult was to their advantage, and they have tried to exploit them in the battle against socialism. Our Party is today boldly overcoming the consequences of the personality cult, and the imperialists regard this as a factor accelerating our advance to communism, as a factor that weakens the positions of capitalism.

Striving to diminish the great appeal of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and their influence upon the broad mass of the people, capitalism's ideologists are resorting to every manner of manoeuvre and subterfuge to divert the attention of the working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas which the socialist world places before the whole of mankind.

The bourgeois press has of late launched a full-scale anti-Soviet slander campaign based on attempts by the reactionary forces to exploit certain facts associated with the condemnation of the Stalin personality cult by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its organizers are making every effort to confuse the issue and conceal the fact that the question here concerns a stage in Soviet life that is already past. They are also endeavouring to hush up and distort the fact that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have, since Stalin's death, worked with exceptional persistence and resolution to eliminate all the consequences of the personality cult and are successfully advancing towards new goals in consolidating peace, building communism and furthering the interests of the broad masses.

By launching their slander campaign, the bourgeois ideologists are once more trying—unsuccessfully—to throw doubt on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, undermine the working people's confidence in the U.S.S.R.—the world's first socialist country—and sow confusion in the ranks of the international Communist and labour movement.

History teaches us that the enemies of international working-class unity have repeatedly attempted to utilize what they believed to be advantageous circumstances to undermine the international unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, engineer a split in the international labour movement and weaken the socialist camp. But on every occasion the Communist and Workers' Parties detected these manoeuvres of the enemies of socialism, united still more firmly and demonstrated their indestructible political unity and unswerving fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties have likewise exposed this manoeuvre of the enemies of socialism in good time and are administering it an effective rebuff. But, at the same time, it would be wrong to disregard the fact that some of our friends abroad are not fully clear on the question of the personality cult and its consequences, and are at times interpreting wrongly certain propositions connected with it.

In its criticism of the personality cult, the Party bases itself upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For over three years now, our Party has been waging a consistent struggle against the Stalin personality cult, and is perseveringly overcoming its injurious consequences. Naturally, this question occupied an important place in the work of the Twentieth Congress and its decisions. The Congress noted that the Central Committee was perfectly correct in its timely condemnation of the personality cult, the dissemination of which diminished the role

of the Party and the popular masses, and the role of collective leadership in the Party, and not infrequently led to serious defects in our work and to gross violations of socialist legality. The Congress instructed the Central Committee to carry out consistent measures to ensure the complete overcoming of the personality cult which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, to eliminate its consequences in every sphere of Party, governmental and ideological activity, and strictly observe the standards of Party life and the principles of collective Party leadership evolved by the great Lenin.

In its struggle against the personality cult, the Party is guided by the tenets of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the popular masses, the party and the individual in history, and on the inadmissibility of applying the personality cult to a political leader, no matter how great his services. The founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx, emphasized his abhorrence for "every species of personality cult," declaring that he and Frederick Engels had joined the League of Communists "on condition that everything tending to encourage superstitious worship of authorities would be deleted from its constitution." (Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russ. ed., Vol. 26, pp. 487-88.)

In building our Communist Party Lenin was implacable in combating the anti-Marxist conception of "hero" and "mob," resolutely denouncing the attempt to contrast the individual hero to the popular masses. "The mind of tens of millions of creators," Lenin said, "produces things infinitely more valuable than the greatest provision of genius." (*Works*, Vol. 26, p. 431.)

In raising the question of combating the Stalin personality cult, the Central Committee based itself on the fact that the personality cult contradicts the very nature of the socialist system and was becoming a brake on the development of Soviet democracy and the advance of Soviet society to communism.

The Twentieth Congress, on the initiative of the Central Committee, considered it necessary to speak out boldly and frankly on the severe adverse effects of the personality cult and the serious mistakes committed during the later period of Stalin's life, and to appeal to the whole Party to unite its efforts in overcoming all the consequences of the personality cult. The Central Committee was fully aware that the frank acknowledgement of these mistakes would have its certain disadvantages and drawbacks, which our enemies might exploit for their own ends. The bold and ruthless self-criticism on the issue of the personality cult was a new, striking demonstration of the power and strength of our Party and the Soviet socialist system. It can be stated with confidence that no ruling party in the capitalist countries would ever risk such a step. On the contrary, they would try to hush up such unpleasant facts and conceal them from the people. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trained in the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, told the whole truth, no matter how bitter. The Party took this step solely on its own initiative, guided by considerations of principle. It took the view that while the condemnation of the Stalin personality cult would cause certain temporary difficulties, in the long run, from the standpoint of the vital interests and ultimate aims of the working class, its result would be of immense positive value. For sure guarantees would thus be provided against any repetition of similar developments in the Party and the country. There would be a sure guarantee that the leadership of the Party and country would be collective, based on the Marxist-Leninist policy and carried out against the background of full-scale inner-Party democracy, with the active and constructive participation of millions of working people, and accompanied by the all-round development of Soviet democracy.

By resolutely attacking the personality cult and its consequences, and by openly criticizing the mistakes to which it gave rise, the Party once more demonstrated its fidelity to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, its devotion to the interests of the people and its anxiety to create the very best conditions for the development of Party and Soviet democracy in the interests of the successful construction of communism in our country.

The Central Committee notes that Party members and non-members took a very active part in discussions of the question of the personality cult and its consequences in Party organizations and at general meetings of workers and that the Central Committee's policy met with complete approval and support both within the Party and among the people.

The facts concerning violations of socialist legality and other mistakes associated with the Stalin personality cult made public by the Party naturally cause grief and profound regret. But the Soviet people understand that condemnation of the personality cult was necessary in the interests of building communism, in which they are active participants. They see that during recent years the Party has been persistently taking practical steps to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult in all branches of Party, governmental, economic and cultural development. As a result, the Party, whose inner forces are no longer bound by anything, has drawn still closer to the people and is displaying unparalleled constructive vigour.

II

How could the Stalin personality cult, with all its adverse effects, arise and spread under the Soviet socialist system?

In examining this question it is important to bear in mind both the objective, concrete historical conditions in

which socialism was built in the U.S.S.R., and certain subjective factors arising from the personality of Stalin.

The October Socialist Revolution has gone down in history as a classical example of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society under the leadership of the working class. The heroic struggle of the Bolshevik Party and of the U.S.S.R., the world's first socialist state, teaches the Communist Parties of other countries, and all progressive and democratic forces, how to solve the fundamental social problems posed by the development of modern society. During nearly forty years of building socialism, the working people of our country have accumulated immense experience, which is being studied and creatively adapted to their own concrete conditions by the working people of other socialist lands.

This was history's first experience of building a socialist society, a society that took on shape and form in the process of applying and testing in practice many truths which hitherto were known to Socialists only in general outline, in theory. For over a quarter of a century the Soviet Union was the only country paving mankind's path to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress surrounded on all sides by capitalism. After the failure of the fourteen-nation intervention in 1918-20, its enemies in East and West continued to prepare new "crusades" against the U.S.S.R. They sent large numbers of spies and saboteurs into the Soviet Union, seeking to undermine the world's first socialist state by every possible means. The menace of fresh imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. became especially pronounced after the fascists came to power in Germany in 1933. The destruction of communism, the destruction of the first workers' state in the world—the U.S.S.R.—was their avowed purpose. Everyone remembers the appearance of the "Anti-Comintern Pact," the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis," which had the active support of all the forces of international reaction.

Against this background of a maturing war danger and the Western Powers' repeated rejection of Soviet proposals for measures to curb fascism and organize collective security, the Soviet Union was compelled to exert every effort to strengthen its defences and foil the intrigues of the hostile capitalist encirclement. The Party had to educate the entire people in a spirit of unrelenting vigilance and preparedness in the face of external foes.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous because, within the country, a prolonged and fierce class struggle was in progress to resolve the question "who will win?" Lenin's death was followed by an increase in the activity of hostile trends within the Party—the Trotskyites, Right opportunists, bourgeois nationalists—who repudiated Lenin's theory that socialism could triumph in one country. In practice, their attitude would have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The Party launched a relentless struggle against these enemies of Leninism.

Faithful to Lenin's behests, the Communist Party adopted a policy of socialist industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and of carrying through a cultural revolution. In carrying out the colossal tasks involved in building a socialist society in one country, the Soviet people and the Communist Party had to surmount incredible difficulties and obstacles. Our country had, in the shortest possible historical time, and without any outside economic assistance whatever, to eliminate age-old backwardness and rebuild the entire national economy on new, socialist principles.

This complex international and internal situation required iron discipline, constantly growing vigilance, the strictest centralization of leadership, which was bound to have an unfavourable effect on the development of certain democratic forms. Our country, locked in bitter struggle against the entire world of imperialism, was con-

strained to introduce some restrictions of democracy, justified by the logic of our people's struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. But even at that time, the Party and people regarded these restrictions as temporary, to be repealed as the Soviet state became stronger and the democratic and socialist forces throughout the world developed. Our people consciously accepted these temporary sacrifices, knowing that every passing day brought continued progress for the Soviet social system.

All these difficulties on the road to socialism were overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, which consistently followed the general line mapped out by Lenin.

The victory of socialism in our country, surrounded as it was by enemies and faced with the constant threat of attack, was an epochal feat of the Soviet people. Thanks to the intensive and heroic efforts of the people and Party, the economically backward country made a gigantic leap forward in its economic and cultural development during the early five-year plans. On the basis of the achievements in the building of socialism, living standards were raised and unemployment wiped out for all time. A deep-going cultural revolution took place. Within a short space of time the Soviet people trained large numbers of technicians equal to the requirements of world technical progress, who placed Soviet science and technology in the front rank. These victories were inspired and organized by the great party of Communists. The U.S.S.R. was for the working people of the world living proof that the workers and peasants, once they have taken power in their own hands, can without the aid of capitalists and landlords successfully build and develop their socialist state, the spokesman and defender of the interests of the broad masses. This was a great inspira-

tion to the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries and helped to extend their influence.

As General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, a post which he held for a long time, Stalin, together with other leaders of the Party, fought vigorously to implement Lenin's behests. He was devoted to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theoretician and skilful organizer he headed the Party's struggle against the Trotskyites, Right opportunists and bourgeois-nationalists, against the intrigues of the capitalist encirclement. In this political and ideological struggle Stalin acquired much authority and popularity. But all our impressive victories came to be wrongly associated with his name. The successes won by the Communist Party and the country, and the praise lavished on his person, turned Stalin's head. It was in this atmosphere that the Stalin personality cult gradually developed.

Its development was to a very great degree facilitated by certain personal characteristics of Stalin, whose undesirable nature was pointed out by Lenin. Towards the end of 1922, Lenin addressed a letter to the forthcoming Party Congress, in which he wrote:

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated in his hands boundless power, and I am not sure that he will always be able to employ that power with sufficient caution." In a supplement to this letter, written in the early days of January 1923, Lenin reverted to this question of certain undesirable personal characteristics of Stalin which are impermissible in a leader. "Stalin is too rude," Lenin wrote, "and this defect, while quite tolerable in our midst and in intercourse between us Communists, becomes intolerable in a person holding the post of General Secretary. For that reason, I suggest that the comrades think of some method of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another person who in all other aspects differs from Comrade Stalin in pos-

sessing only one advantage—that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to comrades, less capricious, etc.”

At the Thirteenth Party Congress, held soon after Lenin's death, his letters were made known to the delegations. They were discussed, and it was found advisable to allow Stalin to remain General Secretary, on the understanding, however, that he would heed this criticism of Lenin's and draw all the necessary conclusions therefrom.

Remaining as General Secretary of the Central Committee, Stalin did heed Lenin's critical remarks in the period immediately after Lenin's death. But subsequently, grossly overestimating his own services, Stalin began to believe he was infallible. Certain restrictions upon inner-Party and Soviet democracy, inevitable during bitter struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and during the war against the nazi invader, were gradually transformed by Stalin into regular features of government and Party life, in outright violation of Lenin's principles of leadership. Central Committee Plenary Sessions and Party Congresses were convened irregularly, and subsequently none were held for many years. Stalin in fact came to be above criticism.

Stalin's erroneous formulation that the class struggle would become more and more acute as the Soviet Union advanced to socialism did great damage to the building of socialism and the development of democracy within the Party and in the country. This formulation, correct only for definite stages of the transition period when the issue "who will win?" was being decided, when the laying of the foundations of socialism was accompanied by bitter class struggle, was pushed to the forefront in 1937—at a time when socialism had already triumphed in our country and when the exploiting classes and their economic base had been abolished. In practice, this erroneous theoretical formulation served

as the basis for the grossest violations of socialist legality and mass repressions.

It was in these circumstances that the state security agencies acquired a special status. Great confidence was placed in them, for they had rendered undoubted services to the people and country in defending the gains of the revolution. For a long period, the state security agencies justified this confidence, and their special status did not entail any danger. But things changed when Party and government control over the security agencies was gradually replaced by the personal control of Stalin, and the normal administration of justice not infrequently replaced by his personal decisions. The situation was further aggravated when the state security system came to be headed by the criminal gang of Beria, that agent of international imperialism. There were grave infractions of Soviet legality, and mass repressions. As a result of enemy intrigue, many honest Communists and non-Party Soviet citizens were slandered and suffered innocently.

The Twentieth Congress and the entire policy of the Central Committee since Stalin's death are clear evidence that within the Central Committee there existed a Leninist nucleus of leaders who correctly understood the requirements of our home and foreign policy. It cannot be said that there was no resistance to the negative developments associated with the personality cult, which retarded the forward march of socialism. More, there were definite periods—during the war, for instance—when Stalin's unilateral actions were sharply curbed and the negative consequences of lawlessness, arbitrariness, etc., substantially weakened.

It is generally known that during the war, Central Committee members and distinguished Soviet military leaders assumed control over certain fields of activity at the front and in the rear, took independent actions on

organizational, political, economic and military matters, and, in conjunction with local Party and governmental organizations, ensured the victory of the Soviet people. The negative consequences of the personality cult made themselves strongly felt again after that victory.

Immediately after Stalin's death, the Leninist nucleus of the Central Committee began resolutely to combat the personality cult and its serious consequences.

The question may arise: why did not these people openly oppose Stalin and remove him from the leadership? That could not be done in the conditions then prevailing. Indisputably, the facts show that Stalin was responsible for many unlawful actions, particularly during the concluding period of his life. But it should not be forgotten that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man who always defended the U.S.S.R. against the intrigues of its enemies and as a man who fought for the socialist cause. In this struggle he at times resorted to unworthy methods and violated the Leninist principles and standards of Party life. Herein lay the tragedy of Stalin. But at the same time, all this made it difficult to combat the illegalities then being committed, for the successes in the building of socialism and the strengthening of the U.S.S.R. were, in this atmosphere of the personality cult, credited to Stalin.

In these circumstances, any opposition to Stalin would not have been understood by the people; it was not at all a matter of lack of personal courage. Clearly, anyone who opposed Stalin would not, in this situation, have had the support of the people. More, such opposition would under the circumstances have been regarded as opposition to the building of socialism, as an extremely dangerous attempt to undermine the unity of the Party and the country, surrounded as it was by capitalist states. Furthermore, the successes achieved by the working people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of their Com-

munist Party gave rise to justifiable pride in every Soviet heart, and tended to create an atmosphere in which individual mistakes and defects—measured against the country's tremendous progress—seemed of less importance, and the harmful consequences of these mistakes were quickly compensated for by the rapidly growing vitality of the Party and Soviet society.

The following consideration should also be borne in mind: many facts and improper actions by Stalin, notably those relating to the violation of Soviet legality, became known only recently, after Stalin's death, mainly as a result of the exposure of the Beria gang and the establishment of Party control over the state security agencies.

Such are the principal circumstances and reasons that led to the rise and dissemination of the Stalin personality cult. All this explains, but certainly by no means justifies, that cult and its consequences, which have been so sharply—and rightly—condemned by our Party.

III

The personality cult undoubtedly did grave damage to the cause of the Communist Party and to Soviet society. But it would be a gross error to infer from the existence of the personality cult in the past that the social system of the U.S.S.R. has changed somehow, or that the personality cult stemmed from the very nature of Soviet society. Both inferences are absolutely wrong, for they do not accord with realities, they run counter to the facts.

Despite all the evil which the Stalin personality cult caused the Party and people, it could not and did not alter the nature of our social system. No personality cult could change the nature of a socialist state, which is founded on public ownership of the means of production,

the alliance of the working class and peasantry, and friendship of the peoples, though this cult did cause serious damage to the development of socialist democracy and to the creative initiative of the millions.

The belief that any individual, even of Stalin's magnitude, can change our social and political system is deeply contrary to the facts, to Marxism, to the truth, and represents a relapse into idealism. That view would ascribe to individuals such extraordinary and superhuman powers as ability to change the structure of a society, and moreover of a society in which the millions of working people are the decisive force.

We know that the nature of any social and political system is determined by the mode of production, by the ownership of the means of production, by the class that is in possession of political power. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, the socialist mode of production has been firmly established, and that for nearly forty years now power has been in the hands of the working class and peasantry. Thanks to this, the Soviet social system is constantly becoming stronger and its productive forces are growing. This even our ill-wishers must concede.

The personality cult, as we know, resulted in certain serious mistakes in the management of various branches of Party and governmental work, both in home and foreign affairs. Mention might be made, in particular, of Stalin's serious mistakes in directing agriculture, in organizing the country's preparedness to repel the fascist invader, and of the gross arbitrary actions which led to the conflict with Yugoslavia after the war. These mistakes jeopardized the development of certain aspects of Soviet life, and, particularly in the concluding years of Stalin's life, hampered the advance of Soviet society but—and this

should be perfectly clear—they did not divert that society from the correct path to communism.

Our enemies allege that the Stalin personality cult was due not to particular historical conditions, which have now receded into the past, but to the Soviet system itself, to what they consider to be its lack of democracy, etc. These slanderous assertions are refuted by the whole history of the Soviet state. The Soviets are a new democratic form of government which came into being as a result of the revolutionary activity of the masses, of their struggle for freedom. And the Soviets are and remain the organs of genuine popular government. For it was the Soviet system that made it possible to bring out the vast constructive potentialities of the people. It set in motion the unlimited energies latent in the masses and drew millions into conscious participation in the administration of the state and active, constructive participation in the building of socialism. During a brief historical period, the Soviet state emerged victorious from the most trying ordeals; it stood the test of the Second World War.

When the last exploiting classes were abolished in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in its entire economy, when the international situation of the U.S.S.R. underwent radical change, the framework of Soviet democracy was immeasurably extended, and continues to extend. In contrast to any bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy not only proclaims, but provides all members of society without exception with the material means necessary to exercise their right to work, education and recreation, their right to play their part in the affairs of the state, freedom of speech, press and conscience. It furnishes real opportunities for the free development of individual abilities and provides every other democratic right and freedom. The essence of democracy lies not in its formal manifestations, but rather in whether

or not the government reflects and serves the will and fundamental interests of the majority of the nation, the interests of the working people. The entire home and foreign policy of the Soviet state is proof that ours is a genuinely democratic and genuinely people's system. The supreme aim and unflagging concern of the Soviet Government is constantly to raise the living standards of the people and ensure them a peaceful life.

Evidence of the further development of Soviet democracy is to be found in the measures taken by the Party and the Government to extend the rights and jurisdiction of the Union Republics, ensure stringent observance of Soviet law, reconstruct the system of planning with a view to encouraging local initiative, activize the work of local Soviets, and develop criticism and self-criticism.

The personality cult notwithstanding, the great initiative of the masses led by the Communist Party—initiative born of our system—performed its historical task and overcame all the obstacles to socialist construction. In this, too, the democracy of the Soviet socialist system finds its supreme expression. The impressive victories of socialism in our country did not come automatically. They were achieved thanks to the immense organizational and educational work carried out by the Party and its local organizations and thanks to the fact that the Party has consistently trained its cadres and all its members in the spirit of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and devotion to communism. The consciousness of the masses lends Soviet society strength. Its historical destinies have been determined by the creative labour of our heroic working class, our glorious collective-farm peasantry and our people's intelligentsia.

In eliminating the consequences of the personality cult and re-establishing the Bolshevik principles of Party life, in developing socialist democracy, our Party has

further cemented its bond with the masses and has united them still closer under the great banner of Lenin.

The fact that the Party has itself boldly and openly posed the question of eliminating the personality cult, the question of the inadmissible mistakes of Stalin, is convincing proof that it stands guard for Leninism, for the cause of socialism and communism, for observance of socialist legality and the interests of the people, for the protection of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is proof positive of the strength and virility of the Soviet socialist system. It is proof, also, of our determination to overcome the last vestiges of the personality cult and to prevent any repetition of similar mistakes.

Our Party's condemnation of the Stalin personality cult and its consequences has met with approval and a wide response in all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. Communists abroad, in noting the vast importance of the Twentieth Congress for the entire international Communist and labour movement, regard the struggle against the personality cult and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, for a creative approach to the solution of the problems facing the international labour movement, for the assertion and development of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

A number of fraternal Communist Parties have issued statements endorsing and supporting our measures against the personality cult and its consequences. The *Jenminjihpao*, published by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, printed an editorial entitled "The Historic Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship," in which it set out the conclusions reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in its discussion of the Twentieth Congress decisions. The paper wrote: "True to Lenin's behests, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is adopting a seri-

ous attitude to certain grave mistakes committed by Stalin in his guidance of socialist construction and to their repercussions. In view of the gravity of these repercussions, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have found it necessary, while recognizing Stalin's great services, trenchantly to disclose the essence of Stalin's mistakes and to mobilize the entire Party to guard against their repetition and resolutely to extirpate the unhealthy consequences to which they led. We Chinese Communists firmly believe that after the sharp criticism at the Twentieth Congress all the positive factors which were held in leash in the past because of certain political mistakes will of necessity come into motion everywhere, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be more united than ever in their efforts to build a communist society unparalleled in history and bring the world enduring peace."

"The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party declared in its resolution, "have had the merit to undertake the correction of the errors and faults linked with the cult of personality, thus stressing the force and unity of Lenin's great party, the confidence which it enjoys among the Soviet peoples, as well as its authority in the international workers' movement." Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., wrote in his well-known article, referring to the immense importance of the Twentieth Congress: "The Twentieth Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It has marked a new stage in the advancement of socialism, and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin's day, continued in following years and is becoming ever more effective and successful."

At the same time, it should be observed that in discussing the question of the personality cult, there has

not in all cases been a correct interpretation of the factors that gave rise to it and of the consequences it has had for our social system. For example, Comrade Togliatti's circumstantial and interesting interview published in the magazine *Nuovi Argomenti*, together with many very valuable and correct conclusions, also contains wrong propositions. In particular, one cannot agree with the question he raises of whether Soviet society has not reached "certain forms of degeneration." There are no grounds whatever for this question. It is all the more inexplicable, considering that elsewhere in his interview Comrade Togliatti says, quite rightly: "The conclusion must be drawn that the essence of the socialist system has not been lost, for none of its earlier gains have vanished, and above all the support enjoyed among the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals which make up Soviet society. This support is in itself proof that, despite everything, that society has retained its basic democratic character."

Indeed, without the support of the broadest popular masses for the Soviet Government and the policy of the Communist Party, our country would not have been able in so remarkably short a space of time to build up a powerful socialist industry, collectivize agriculture and achieve victory in the Second World War, on the outcome of which depended the future of the whole human race. As a result of the utter defeat of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the Communist movement developed widely, mass Communist Parties grew up in Italy, France and other capitalist countries, people's democracy was established in a number of European and Asian countries, the world system of socialism emerged and gained in strength, and unparalleled successes have been registered by the national-liberation movement, leading to the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system.

IV

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress condemning the personality cult are unanimously approved by Communist Party members, all Soviet citizens, who see in them proof of the enhanced strength of our Party, its Leninist fidelity to principle, its unity and solidity. "The party of the revolutionary proletariat," Lenin said, "is sufficiently strong to be able openly to criticize itself, and to call a mistake a mistake and a defect a defect." (*Works*, Vol. 21, p. 150.) Guided by that Leninist principle, our Party will continue boldly to disclose, openly to criticize and resolutely to eliminate mistakes and defects in its work.

The Central Committee considers that the work so far accomplished by the Party in overcoming the personality cult and its consequences has already yielded positive results.

In pursuance of the Twentieth Congress decisions, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. calls on all Party organizations:

consistently to observe in all our work that most important thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the people are the makers of history, the creators of all the material and spiritual values of humanity, and that the Marxist party plays a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle to transform society and achieve the triumph of communism;

persistently to continue the work that the Central Committee has done during these past few years to secure the stringent observance in all Party organizations, from top to bottom, of the Leninist principles of Party leadership, and above all the supreme principle of collective leadership; the observance of the standards of Party life laid down in the Party Rules, and the development of criticism and self-criticism;

fully to re-establish the principles of Soviet socialist democracy as formulated in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, and to rectify in full measure all infractions of revolutionary socialist legality;

to mobilize our cadres, all Party members and the broad masses of the working people, for the practical implementation of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, developing to the utmost the creative initiative and energy of the masses—the real makers of history.

The Twentieth Congress established that the principal feature of our era is the emergence of socialism as a world system. The most difficult phase in the development and consolidation of socialism has been passed. Our socialist country is no longer a lone island in an ocean of capitalist states. Today, over a third of mankind is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism are winning the minds of many millions in the capitalist countries. They exert an immense influence on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are resisting all forms of colonialism.

All supporters of peace and socialism, all democratic and progressive forces, see in the Twentieth Congress decisions an inspiring programme of struggle for lasting world peace, for the interests of the working class and for the triumph of the socialist cause.

Present-day conditions open up before the Communist Parties and the entire international labour movement the broad and encouraging prospect of preventing, together with all the peace-loving forces, the outbreak of another world war, curbing the monopolies and assuring the people lasting peace and security, ending the arms drive and relieving the working people of its heavy tax burden, and upholding the democratic rights and freedoms, which enable the working masses to fight for a better life and a brighter future. Millions of ordinary people in every

country are vitally interested in attaining these goals. And their attainment is being greatly facilitated by the peace policy and the mounting achievements of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all other countries that are advancing along the road to socialism.

Such international working-class organizations as the Comintern and Cominform have been discontinued under the new historical circumstances. But this should not be taken to mean that international solidarity and contact between fraternal revolutionary parties which subscribe to Marxism-Leninism has lost its significance. Today, when the forces of socialism and the influence of socialist ideas have grown immeasurably throughout the world, when there is a multiplicity of paths to socialism in the various countries, working-class Marxist parties should, naturally, maintain and strengthen their ideological unity and international fraternal solidarity in the battle against the menace of war, in the struggle against the reactionary forces of monopoly capital seeking to suppress all revolutionary and progressive movements. The Communist Parties are united in their great aim of delivering the working class from capitalist oppression; they are united by loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and by supreme devotion to the interests of the masses.

All Communist Parties base their activities under present circumstances on the specific features and conditions prevailing in their countries, and give full expression to the national interests of their peoples. But, knowing that the struggle for the interests of the working class, peace and national independence is the cause of the international proletariat as a whole, they seek to cement their fellowship and strengthen their contact and co-operation. Ideological unity and fraternal solidar-

ity between the working-class Marxist parties in the various countries is all the more necessary because the capitalist monopolies are building their own international aggressive alliances and blocs—NATO, SEATO, the Baghdad pact, etc.—directed against the peace-loving nations, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class and the vital interests of the working people generally.

Whereas the Soviet Union has done, and is doing, much to relieve international tension—and this is now generally recognized—American monopoly capital continues to allocate large sums for subversive activities in the socialist countries. It will be recalled that at the height of the “cold war” the United States Congress (in addition to unofficial allocations) appropriated 100 million dollars for subversive activities in the People’s Democracies and the Soviet Union. Today, when the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing everything possible to alleviate international tension, efforts are being made to step up the “cold war,” which has everywhere been condemned by the peoples. Evidence of this is to be seen in the U.S. Senate’s allocation of an additional 25 million dollars for subversive activities, cynically described as “encouraging freedom” behind the “iron curtain.”

We must soberly evaluate this fact and draw the necessary conclusions. It should be clear, for example, that the reactionary outbreaks in Poznan were financed from that source. But the provocateurs and saboteurs paid with money from across the Atlantic had only spirit enough for a few hours. The workers of Poznan rebuffed these hostile outbursts and provocations. The plans of these “cloak-and-dagger” knights ended in failure; their foul provocation against people’s rule in Poland was a fiasco. And all future subversive actions in the People’s

Democracies are likewise doomed to failure, though they are lavishly financed with money provided by American monopolies. It can indeed be described as a sheer waste of money.

All this is evidence that we must not allow complacency concerning new intrigues by imperialist agents who are trying to penetrate the socialist countries in order to sabotage and undermine the achievements of their working people.

The reactionary imperialist forces are trying to divert the working people from the correct path of struggle for their interests, to spread the poison of disbelief in the success of the cause of peace and socialism. Despite all the intrigues of the ideologists of the capitalist monopolies, the working class, headed by its tried and tested Communist vanguard, will advance along its chosen road, which has already led to historic conquests for socialism and will lead to new victories for peace, democracy and socialism. We can be confident that the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries will raise still higher the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism.

Soviet citizens are justly proud that our country was the first to blaze the path to socialism. And today, when socialism has become a world system, when fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance has been established between the socialist countries, there are new favourable conditions for the flowering of socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material and productive base of communism, for an uninterrupted rise in the living standards of the working people, for the all-round development of the new men and women who are building communist society. The bourgeois ideologists can go on concocting their fairy tales about a "crisis" of communism, about "confusion" in the Communist ranks. This

is not the first time we have heard such stories from our enemies. Their prophecies have always burst like soap bubbles. These ill-starred prophets came and went, but the Communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism advanced from victory to victory. And so also will it be in future. The slanderous attacks of our enemies, no matter how malicious, cannot halt mankind's inexorable advance to communism.

*Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Soviet Union*

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И ЕГО ПОСЛЕДСТВИЙ

Постановление ЦК КПСС

На английском языке